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ABSTRACT

This 63-page annotated bibliography contains available materials in the area of political communication, a relatively new field of political science. Political communication includes facets of the election process and interaction between political parties and the voter. A variety of materials dating from 1960 to 1972 include books, pamphlets, journal and magazine articles, unpublished papers and dissertations, Congressional Quarterly articles, and government publications. The following seven areas of the field are examined: (1) general campaign techniques; (2) media and advertising techniques; (3) polling, surveying, and the use of computers for data collection; (4) theories and techniques of political attitude change and persuasion; (5) specific elections; (6) the techniques of political parties; and (7) financing of campaigns. The collection is partially annotated. (JR)

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A PARTIALLY ANNOTATED
POLITICAL COMMUNICATION BIBLIOGRAPHY

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April 1974

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Introduction

Bibliographical compilation can be dry and dull. When, however, a field such as political communication is comparitively new, the process can be truly exciting, and can give the compiler an overall sense of currently available research materials as well.

With so many politicians, scholars, and writers claiming to have mastered many of the techniques of political campaigning, it was appealing to me to collect this information in a manner that could be useful to the practical politician as well as to the scientific researcher.

The process of compiling any bibliography can best be characterized by the finished product. The following pages show the divisions and directions that I found most useful. The collection is only partially annotated and covers the specific period of 1960 to 1972. It makes no pretense of completeness even for that period.

Upon conclusion of this project I felt even more strongly than at the outset that political communication has exciting prospects if we are willing to consider it in a freely interdisciplinary context. As a veteran of the political arena, as well as of academic departments of poltical science and communication, I see an exciting future and compelling need for descriptive and empirical research in this area.

Contents

1. GENERAL CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES
   Books and Pamphlets 1
   Journals and Magazine Articles 11

2. MEDIA AND ADVERTISING TECHNIQUES
   Books and Pamphlets 14
   Journals and Magazine Articles 17
   Unpublished Papers and Dissertations 23

3. POLLING, SURVEYING AND THE USE OF COMPUTERS FOR DATA COLLECTION
   Books and Pamphlets 24
   Journals and Magazine Articles 29

4. THEORIES AND TECHNIQUES OF POLITICAL ATTITUDE CHANGE AND PERSUASION: A SAMPLE OF RESEARCH
   Books and Pamphlets 34
   Journals and Magazine Articles 36

5. SPECIFIC ELECTIONS
   Books and Pamphlets 38
   Journals and Magazine Articles 41
   Unpublished Papers and Dissertations 43

6. THE TECHNIQUES OF POLITICAL PARTIES
   Books and Pamphlets 45
   Journals and Magazine Articles 47

7. FINANCING CAMPAIGNS
   Books and Pamphlets 50
   Professional and Academic Journal Articles 53
   Congressional Quarterly Articles 54
   Magazine Articles 56
   Government Publications 59

GENERAL CAMPAIGN TECHNIQUES

Books and Pamphlets

Agranoff, Robert (ed). The New Style Election Campaigns 1972. Holbrook Press, Inc., Boston, Mass.
An anthology of articles on the latest campaign techniques such as information systems, media, and electronic and professional campaign management. Both practical and scholarly.

AFL-CIO COPE, How to Win Elections (COPE, 815 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006).
A complete manual for organizing and conducting campaigns, revised for 1972. Parts of the manual are often published separately; for example, "How to Run a Registration Drive." Copies are available through state COPE headquarters. COPE has excellent material for getting out the vote drives.

Alinsky, Saul D. Rules for Radicals. Vintage Books, New York, 1971.
Radical techniques for organizing within the system by one of America's foremost organizers. He suggests organizing around issues.

----------. Reveille for Radicals. Vintage Books, N.Y., 1969.
Alinsky tells of organizing for causes and using unique tactics such as development of "People's Organizations" for pushing causes.

Allyn, Paul and Joseph Greene. See How They Run. Philadelphia, Chilton Press, 1964.
A manual with practical suggestions on how to organize a campaign.

Barone, Michael and Grant Ujifusa and Douglas Matthews. The Almanac of American Politics: The Senators, the Representatives - Their Records, States and Districts. New York, Gambit Press, 1972.
Statistics on Congressional members, their areas, political backgrounds and information on votes.

Baus, Herbert M. and William B. Ross. Politics Battle Plan. New York, Macmillan, 1968.
Strategy of one of America's most successful California-based campaign management firms.

Berelson, Bernard, Paul F. Lazarsfeld and William N. McPhee. Voting. Chicago, U. of Chicago, 1954.
One of the original intensive voting studies. Research done in Elmera, New York during and after 1948 Presidential campaign. Many of its conclusions about voting behavior and the effects of campaigns on voters remain

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

undisputed. One of the conclusions of these studies was that factors shaping voting choices are affected only marginally by campaign appeals.

Bruno, Jerry and Jeff Greenfield. The Advance Men. New York, Morrow, 1971.
Gives much realistic data on practical political techniques. Bruno was an advance man for John F. Kennedy and Robert F. Kennedy.

Burdick, E. and A. Broadbeck (ed). American Voting Behavior. Glencoe, Free Press, 1959.
Study of voting behavior and articles about politics in general and in broadcasting.

Burkey, Richard M. Political Racism in the United States. Lexington, Mass., Heath Co., 1971.

Burkhart, James, James Eisenstein, Theodore Fleming and Frank Kendrick. Strategies for Political Participation. Cambridge, Mass., Winthrop Publishing Inc., 1972.
Ways to participate, organize campaigns and more on laymen's participation.

Burnham, Walter. Critical Elections and the Mainsprings of American Politics. New York, Norton, 1970.
A superb book about American elections. Must reading for anyone in electoral politics.

Campbell, Angus, et. al. The American Voter. New York, Wiley, 1964.
Presents the central findings about voters from the Michigan Survey Research Center. A basic reference book on electoral behavior based on intensive voting studies of 1952-1964.

---------- et.al. Elections and the Political Order. New York, Wiley, 1966.
Articles about voting behavior that should be read by all campaign planners.

---------- et.al. The Voter Decides. Evanston, Row Peterson and Co., 1954.
A primary voting study examining conflicting motivational patterns which cause voters (including party identifiers) to split their votes.

Carney, Francis M. and H. Frank Way, Jr. Politics 1972. Belmont, Wadsworth Publishing Co.
On the process and parties, politics, presidency and persuasion.

Cass, Don. How to Win Votes and Influence Elections. Chicago, Public Administration Service Press, 1962.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

A general guide to campaign planning and organization that is frequently recommended to beginning campaigners. Stresses precinct work.

Chamber of Commerce of the U.S.A. Action Courses in Practical Politics. Chamber of Commerce, Public Affairs Department, 1615 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.
An excellent and comprehensive set of books on political organization. Contact your local Chamber of Commerce for details.

Chester, Lewis, Godfrey Hodson and Bruce Page. An American Melodrama. Viking Press, 1969.
Although this deals with the Presidential election of 1968 it is also a very comprehensive text regarding elections generally.

Communicate in '68. Available from Campaign Communications Institute of America, Inc., 575 Lexington Ave., New York, New York, 10022.
A complete directory of creative materials, equipment and techniques to help win election campaigns. The first of its kind, the catalog offers information about effective new techniques and materials for elections. Also, the outline of uses and costs for these products and services which were made available to candidates for the 1968 elections. Though outdated now, it may still provide creative ideas for candidates in 1972.

Congressional Quarterly. Congress and the Nation. Vols. I and II. Congressional Quarterly, 1625 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.
The most comprehensive summary of government policies and actions in all fields since 1945. Includes annual descriptions of actions taken, summaries of major political controversies and voting records of all members of Congress on selected bills. Many politicians use these books every day.

Congressional Quarterly, Weekly Report. Available on subscription from Congressional Quarterly, 1625 K St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006.
A basic source of current information about electoral politics. Virtually must reading for anyone who follows national politics.

Cutter, Cornelius. Practical Politics in the U.S. Boston, Allyn & Bacon, 1969.
A series of articles about all phases of campaigning.

Dolbeare, Kenneth M. (ed). Power and Change in the United States: Empirical Findings and Their Implication. Twelve major empirical studies on issues such as political theory.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Downs, Anthony. An Economic Theory of Democracy. New York, Wiley. Sets up a model of the voter as rational that may be used as a basis for planning sophistocated campaigns.

Dreyer, Edward C. and Walter A. Rosenbaum (eds). Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior; Essays and Studies. Belmont, Cal., Wadsworth, 1966.

Dye, Thomas R. and Hawkens. Politics in the Metropolis. Columbus, Ohio, Charles E. Merrill, 1971.

Eddleman, Murray. The Symbolic Uses of Politics. Urbana, U. of Illinois Press, 1970.
This is a study of the symbolic side of politics, stressing the different functions of campaigns. The author states that man creates political symbols which either sustain and develop him or warp him.

Edwards, Lee and Anne. You Can Make the Difference. New Rochelle, New York, Arlington House, 1968.
A guide to practical political action.

Emmet, Grenville and Patricia. What the Pro's Know. New York, 1968.
A step-by-step practical guide to campaigning.

Facts on File. Published by Facts on File, Inc., 119 W. 57th St., New York, N.Y. 10022.
Available by subscription. An excellent current digest of political events. Well-indexed to help the political campaign researcher quickly find information he needs.

Flanigan, William H. Political Behavior of the American Electorate. Boston, Allyn & Bacon, Inc., 1968.
One of the points made in this book is that factors shaping voting choices are affected only marginally by campaign appeals.

Garrison, Lloyd. American Politics and Elections: Selected Abstracts of Periodical Literature, 1964-1968. ABC-CLIO, 1968.
This bibliography and summary of the literature will help campaign planners catch up on all the research reported in all the journals during the period covered.

Glaser, William A. and Charles Kadushin. Political Behavior in Midterm Elections. In William N. McPhee and William A. Glaser (eds), Public Opinion and Congressional Elections. Free Press, 1962.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Harmon, Robert B. Suggestions for a Basic Political Science Library. 1970.

Hiebert, Ray, et. al. The Political Image Merchants. Washington, D.C., Acropolis, 1971.
Based on a conference about modern campaign techniques held at the University of Maryland. Includes discussions of the techniques of several of the leading professional campaign managers. A very useful book. Shows influence on new professional political consultants.

Hoopes, Roy. Getting with Politics. New York, Dell, 1969.
A guide for young people who are interested in getting involved in political activity, but who do not know where or how to start.

Janowitz, Morris and Dwaine Marvick. Competitive Pressure and Democratic Consent. Ann Arbor, U. of Michigan, 1956.
Study of media which concludes that undecided voter is the least likely to watch political programs.

Jennings, Kent M. The Electoral Process. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1966.
A good book of articles about electoral behavior.

Johnson, Jerry. How to Be Successful in Politics Without Really Being Competent. New York, Vantage Press.
A practical guide.

Jonas, Frank H. (ed). Politics in the American West. Salt Lake City, U. of Utah Press, 1969.

----------. Political Dynamiting. Salt Lake City, Univ. of Utah Press, 1971.
Scrutinizes five campaigns in four states as an in-depth study of "political dynamiting" defined as the destruction of political careers by sudden or damaging and difficult to answer charges based on selected excerpts from the truth.

Joyner, Conrad. The American Politician. U. of Arizona, 1971.
Written for the individual who wants to enter politics, or who wonders how the political processes unfold.

Kahn, Herman and Anthony J. Wiener. The Year 2000. New York, Macmillan, 1967.
By the year 2000, computers are likely to match, sum or surpass Man's most "human-like" intellectual abilities, including some of his aesthetic and creative capacities, in addition to having capacities humans do not --- with all the political implication which this prospect holds.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Key, V.O. The Responsible Electorate. New York, Vantage Press, 1968.
The great political scientist's conclusions about the behavior of the American voters in modern times. Concludes that they have acted relatively rationally.

Kingdon, John W. Candidate for Office; Beliefs and Strategies. New York, Random House, 1968.
Interesting general information on candidates including their winning or losing rationalizations.

Lamb, Karl A. and Paul A. Smith. Campaign Decision Making: The Presidential Election of 1964. Belmont, Wadsworth, 1968.
Tells among other things of Goldwater's strategy in 1964 which was based on issue differences with traditional Republican party strategy. According to authors, Goldwater believed in the hidden conservative vote.

Lane, Robert. Political Life, Why People Get Involved in Politics. Glencoe, Free Press, 1959.
A highly respected study of the factors that move people toward political participation.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson and Hazel Gaudet. The People's Choice. New York, Columbia Univ., 1948.
A classic voting study. See polling section.

Leuthold, David A. Electioneering in a Democracy: Campaigns for Congress. New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1968.
Campaign process of acquiring and using political resources that can secure votes.

Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship. Practical Political Action. Medford, Massachusetts, Tufts University.
A nonpartisan practical guide to effective political action.

Lubell, Samuel. The Hidden Crisis in American Politics. New York, Norton, 1970.
A new look at the American electorate and where it is going.

McLuhan, Marshall. Understanding Media. New York, McGraw Hill, 1964.
Stresses image formation produced particularly by television.

Meyer, D.S. Winning Candidate: How to Defeat Your Political Opponent. New York, Heineman, 1966.
A practical guide often recommended to beginning campaigners.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Miller, Robert H. Politics Is People. New York, Heineman, 1962.

Moos, Malcolm. Politics, Presidents and Coattails. Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1952.

Napolitan, Joseph. The Election Game . . . How to Win It. New York, Doubleday, 1972.
One of the country's leading campaign managers describes his techniques and how they have worked.

National Journal. Available by subscription from the Center for Political Research, 1930 M St., Washington, D.C. 20036.
An excellent new weekly magazine covering actions by the federal government. Its articles on politics are among the best being written.

The New Methodology: A Study of Political Strategy and Tactics. The American Institute of Political Communication, Washington, D.C., 1967.
In-depth portrayal of the new techniques which have come to dominate political campaigning in the United States. Case studies written by scholars and campaign management people.

New York Times, Index. New York Times Library Services.
A complete subject and name index of everything published in the New York Times. Often the fastest and most accurate way to research a political development.

Nimmo, Dan. The Political Persuaders; The Techniques of Modern Election Campaigns. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970.
An excellent overall source on the new methods and technology used in today's politics.

---------- and Thomas D. Ungs. American Political Patterns; Conflicts and Concensus. Boston, Little, Brown, 1969.

Parkinson, Hank. Winning Your Campaign; A Nuts-and-Bolts Guide to Political Victory. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1970.
Written by a director of a professional political campaign agency, this work tells candidate how to evaluate himself thoroughly before starting his campaign. Also reviews all other aspects of a campaign from fund raising to volunteers. His conclusion on volunteers is that they should be used only for short periods of time.

Perry, James. The New Politics. New York, Clarkson Potter, 1968.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

A series of articles about campaigns that used modern computer, advertising, direct mail and management tools.

Phillips, Kevin. The Emerging Republican Majority. New Rochelle, New York, Arlington House, 1969.
A statistical study that argues that the Republicans can emerge as a new majority party. Demographic studies include detailed statistical analysis of voting patterns in many parts of the country. Contains 47 maps and 143 charts.

Politeia. Official publication of the American Association of Political Consultants, 1028 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.
This new quarterly journal contains many articles about the latest campaign techniques and voter research. Available by subscription. It should become a very useful planning tool for all campaigners.

Political Campaigning; Problems in Creating an Informed Electorate. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institute, 1960.
An excellent book about ethical questions all campaign planners should bear in mind as they do their work.

Polsby, Nelson, Robert A. Dentler and Paul A. Smith (eds). Politics and Social Life. Boston, 1963.

Pomper, Gerald. Elections in America. New York, Dodd Mead, 1970.
An excellent study of the impact of elections on public policy. Should be read by all who doubt that elections make any difference. Chapter on state elections should be read by anyone afraid to take a controversial stand during a campaign.

Ranney, Austin (ed). Essays on the Behavioral Study of Politics. Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press, 1962.

Rose, Richard. Influencing Voters: A Study of Campaign Rationality. New York, St. Martin's Press, 1967.
More dated than later campaign guides. On Britain. Chapters on British parties, aims of industry. Conclusion of study is that campaigners' efforts to influence voters vary greatly and often deviate from rational expectations.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Scammon, Richard and Ben Wattenberg. The Real Majority. New York, Coward-McCann, 1970. (2nd edition, 1971).
A book about the mood of Americans that argues that the real majority is in the middle where people are liberal on economic issues and concerned about social issues, especially disorder and crime. A statistical description of the U.S. population.

Schneier, Edward and William Murphy. Vote Power. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1970.
A good little guide to campaign organization, prepared by the Movement for a New Congress. Particular emphasis on door-to-door canvassing techniques.

Scott, Hugh. How to Run for Public Office and Win. Washington, D.C., The National Press, 1968.
Practical advice from a leading Republican Senator.

Shaddegg, Stephen C. How to Win an Election: The Art of Political Victory. New York, Taplinger Publishing Co., 1964.
Techniques to win elections. He feels superficial considerations influence a significant number of citizen voters. Emphasis on campaign managers, images, etc. Contains much of the personal data of this manager of many Republican campaigners.

Smith, C. Voting and Election Laws. Eagleton Institute, Oceana Publishing Co., New York, 1960.

Social Science Data Archives in the United States, 1967.
Among other things describes Inter-University Consortium for Political Research started in 1962. One hundred universities belong under the direction of the Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan. Data include survey data, aggregative statistics and public records such as cross-national survey studies, political partisanship, political socialization, occupational income distributers and attitudes toward political systems.

Steinberg, Alfred. The Bosses. New York, Macmillan, 1972.
Recounts the careers of six American urban politicians who were (while not paragons of virtue and political fair-play), among the most powerful bosses ever to manipulate the American scene.

U.S. Census Bureau. Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.
A book of basic information about the United States. Just about everything that is measured in numbers is included. Reissued regularly.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

U.S. Dept. of Commerce Bureau of Census. 1970 Census Users' Guide. Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, April, 1969.
Includes valuable information such as a comparison of printed reports and summaries. It has a variety of data delivery media (computer tapes, microfilm, printed materials) available, and detailed information on the physical characteristics of the population.

U.S. Government Printing Office. Government Organization Manual. Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office.
The basic who's who and what's what about the federal government. Issued annually.

Valeo, Frances R. and Richard D. Hapman (eds). Factual Campaign Information. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C., 1972.
Compiled to exclusively serve Senators in the senatorial campaigns in 1972. This booklet shows the advantages of being an incumbent. Contains information on interpretation of election laws and political activity.

Van Riper, Paul. Handbook of Practical Politics. New York, Harper & Row, 1967.
An excellent collection of articles about the problems of planning modern campaigns such as importance of filing systems. He lets the experts in political action speak for themselves. Explains different political structures and is one of the few manuals that spends a great deal of space describing vote counting processes.

Wilson, James Q. The Amateur Democrat. Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Phoenix Books, 1962.
Detailed story of the way the amateur play politics in New York, Los Angeles and Chicago.

Wheeler, Harvey. The Politics of Revolution. Berkeley, Glendessary Press, Inc., 1971.

White, Theodore. The Making of the President, 1960, 1964, 1968. New York, Atheneum Press.
This excellent series describes the techniques and the politics of our most recent Presidential campaigns.

Yadlosky, Elizabeth. Identification of Political Campaign Material: A Survey of Federal and State Law and Judicial Interpretation. Washington, D.C., Library of Congress Publication, January 1971.
Reviews each state for laws regarding campaign material useful in a national or specific state election.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Zallman, Gerald, Philip Kotler and Ira Kaufman (eds). Creating Social Change. New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1972.
Social technology dealing with human behavior.

Journals and Magazine Articles

Adrian, Charles R. Some General Characteristics of Non-Partisan Elections. American Political Science Review, XLVI, September, 1952, pp. 766-776.
Importance of candidate personality factors in Minnesota's nonpartisan ballot legislative elections assessed in "soft" information such as past service - this was then translated into three categories.

Anderson, Walt. Spencer-Roberts: Dynamic Duo of California Politics. Los Angeles Times West, December 11, 1966, pp. 20-27.

Congressional Quarterly. Campaign Management Grows into National Industry. XXVI, April 5, 1968, pp. 706-710.
Tactics and ethics of campaign managers vary. Reviews on Whitaker-Baxter, Spencer-Roberts and tasks of consultants and different kinds of management terms.

Corey, Lawrence G. People Who Claim To Be Opinion Leaders: Identifying Their Characteristics by Self Report. Journal of Marketing, V. 45, October, pp. 48-53.
Data suggest opinion leaders are aware of and able to report their own personal influence.

Gore, William and Robert Peabody. The Functions of a Political Campaign: A Case Study. Western Political Quarterly, XI, March, 1958.
Discusses the techniques candidates employ in building winning coalitions of community and group leaders, sympathetic followers and wavering independents.

Kjeldahl, B.O. Factors in a Presidential Candidate's Image. Speech Monographs, 38:129-31, June, 1971.

Morgan, Thomas B. The People Machine. Harper's Magazine, January 1961.
Regards new techniques used in politics.

Public Opinion Quarterly. American Institute of Public Opinion Research.
This quarterly publication often has timely articles on developments in political polling. Articles con-

Journals and Magazine Articles (cont'd)

tain much new survey material on political behavior. A perusal of recent issues is almost always productive for a person planning a political campaign.

Pollack, Jack Harris. Six Ways Your Vote Can Be Stolen. Harper's Magazine, 245: No. 1470, Nov., 1972.

Political Communication Bulletin. Washington, D.C., The American Institute for Political Communication, April 1967.
Monthly highlight findings revealed by analysis of current press and governmental practices and activities, considers the communication aspects of major political acts and statements. Comments on pertinent books and articles, reports on Institute studies.

Professional Managers, Consultants Play Major Roles in 1970 Political Races. National Journal, II, Sept. 26, 1970, pp. 2084-5.
Study of 1970 U.S. Senate candidates. Out of 67 candidates with opposition, 62 employed advertising firms, 30 hired professional media consultants, 24 used national polling firms and 20 acquired the services of a campaign management and public relations firm. Only five had none.

Pitchell, Robert J. The Influence of Professional Campaign Management Firms in Partisan Elections in California. Western Political Quarterly, XI, June, 1958.
Stresses how professional campaign firms efficiently organize traditional precinct activities with the utmost speed and efficiency. Gives detailed account of Whitaker and Baxter.

Scammon, Richard. America Votes, Vols. I-VIII. Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly.
The basic source book for past election data; includes elections at all levels for the entire country.

Vasilew, E. New Styles in Political Campaigns: Lodge in New Hampshire. Review of Politics, April 1968.

Vote History and Demographic Analysis. Republican National Committee, Washington, D.C., 1969, pp. 28-31.
Contains important survey material and discusses such subjects as adjustment to be made for swing-voters.

Wilcox, A.R. and L.B. Weinberg. Petition Signing in the 1968 Election. Western Political Quarterly, 24: Dec., 1971, 731-9.

Journals and Magazine Articles (cont'd)

Wilcox, William H. and James O'Brien. How to Win Campaigns: Critical Path Method. National Civic Review, LVI, May, 1967, 265-9.
Campaign managers are now beginning to use complex management systems like "Critical Path Method," which is similar to one used in building polar subs; i.e., a step-by-step and day-by-day organization which integrates organization, finance, candidate scheduling and media activities.

Wolfinger, Ray. The Influence of Precinct Work on Voting Behavior. Public Opinion Quarterly, 27, 1963, pp. 387+.
An experiment to test the effectiveness of door-to-door campaigning. The writer found it to be quite effective.

Addendum:

Swanson, David L. The New Politics Meets the Old Rhetoric: New Directions in Campaign Research Communication. Quarterly Journal of Speech, 58: No. 1, Feb., 1972.

MEDIA AND ADVERTISING TECHNIQUES

Books and Pamphlets

American Association of Advertising Agencies. Political Campaign Advertising and Advertising Agencies. New York, 1970.
AAAA, 200 Park Ave., N.Y., N.Y. 10007, 212-682-2500. This introduction to the use of advertising agencies in campaigns includes: suggestions for staffing political advertising. Available on request from the Association.

Baus, Herbert M. and William B. Ross. Politics Battle Plan. New York: Macmillan, 1968.
Written by two of California's expert campaign management firms, this is interesting and comprehensive.

Blumler, Jay and Dennis McQuail. Television in Politics: Its Uses and Influences. Univ. of Chicago, 1969.
A detailed study of the use of television campaigning in the 1964 British parliamentary elections. While the pattern of campaigning is quite different in Britain, many of the findings of the book will be useful to American campaign planners.

Bogart, Leo: Strategy in Advertising. New York, Harcourt, Brace and World, 1967.

Bowen, Lawrence, et. al. How Voters React to Electronic Political Advertising. Paper presented to the 26th Annual Conference of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, May 19, 1971.
Important new research that concludes: "A moderate number of high-quality substantively informative advertisements may be more effective than a saturation presentation of superficial image-oriented spots."

Burdick, Eugene and Arthur J. Brodbeck (eds.). American Voting Behavior. Free Press of Glencoe, 1959.

Chester, Edward W. Radio, Television and American Politics. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1969.

Cirino, Robert. Don't Blame the People. Los Angeles, Cal., Diversity Press, 1971.
Tells how media have manipulated attitudes toward issues, not to serve liberal causes but to serve mass media's and the corporate establishment's own profit - both in terms of money and political interests.

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Della Femina, Jerry. From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1970.
In an amusing but astonishingly useful paperback, quite useful campaign information is given, useful for all kinds of campaigning.

Democratic National Committee. A Campaign Guide to Political Publicity. Washington, D.C., Democratic National Committee, 1956.
Democrats value sport announcements and a single memorable slogan. For other Democratic National Committee publications see "General Campaign Techniques" section of this bibliography.

Direct Mail Advertising Association. How to Win Your Election with Direct Mail. Direct Mail Advertising Assoc., 230 Park Ave., N.Y., N.Y., 10017.
A guide for campaigners in the use of direct-mail techniques. Available on request from the Association.

Editorials on File.
Collection of American newspaper editorials published semi-monthly. Each issue consists of more than 200 carefully balanced full-text editorials from major newspapers on important issues of the day. Monthly indexes, cumulative quarterly and annual indexes.

Federal Communication Commission. A Survey of Political Broadcasting, Primary and General Election Campaigns (1969). Washington, D.C., U.S. Government Printing Office, 1969.

Galoney, Terry. Down the Tube; or, Making Television Commercials is Such a Dog-Eat-Dog Business It's No Wonder They're Called Spots. Chicago: Regnery, 1970.
Legal-hearted anecdotes, stories and tales about the behind-the-scenes television commercials.

Jennings, M. Kent and L. Harmon Zeigler (eds.). The Electoral Process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1966.

Kelley, Stanley. Professional Public Relations and Political Power. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956.
An excellent study of the role of professional public relations, especially the Whitaker and Baxter approach to political campaigns. He traces history of professional campaign agencies, noting that use of them for "campaigns" actually began in 1920 when the government affairs component of business public relations bolstered public support for the actions of government bodies

Books and Pamphlets (cont'd)

Kelley, Stanley. Political Campaigning; Problems in Creating an Informed Electorate. Washington, D.C., Brookings Institution, 1960.

Klapper, Joseph. The Effects of Mass Communication. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1960.

Konrad, Evelyn and Rod Erickson (eds.). Marketing Research: A Management Overview. New York: American Management Association, 1966.

Lang, Kurt and Gladys. Politics and Television. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1968.
Studies of some of the early uses of television in politics, such as Edward R. Murrow and Joseph McCarthy, amid the impact of the medium.

Lee, Richard. Politics and the Press. Washington, D.C., Acropolis Books.
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Scott, William A. Attitude Measurement. In Gardner Lindzey and Elliot Aronson (eds). The Handbook of Social Psychology, 2nd Ed., Vol. 2, pp. 204-273. Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley, 1968.

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Chudde, Charles F. and Donald J. McCrone. Constituency Attitudes and Congressional Voting: A Causal Model. In Edward C. Dreyer and Walter A. Rosenbaum (eds.), Political Opinion and Electoral Behavior; Essays and Studies. Belmont, Cal.: Wadsworth, 1966.

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THE TECHNIQUES OF POLITICAL PARTIES

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Voluminous list treating presidential nominating conventions.

Democratic House & Senate Campaign Committees. Democratic Fact Book 1972. Washington, D.C., Demo. Nat. Congress. Comm. Available to Democratic candidates on request to: Democratic National Congressional Committee, B353 Rayburn Building, Washington, D.C. 20510, 202-225-2758.
Helpful information about government programs and Democratic party policies.

Democratic National Committee, 2600 Virginia Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.
The Democratic National Committee has recently been following in the footsteps of the competing major party and has published material helpful to its candidates. They have always published; what I am indicating is that the quality of their publications has recently improved. Particularly useful materials include The Campaign Manual for 1972, written in large measure by Larry O'Brien, one of the Democrats' leading professional politicians; The Instructors' Manual for the Precinct Workers, and The Congressional Campaign Manual, again, supervised by Larry O'Brien. The manuals from the Women's Division are very detailed and helpful.

Effective Citizens' Organization. Directory of Public Affairs Officers. Washington, D.C., E.C.O.
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Pomper, Gerald M. Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1968.

Republican National Committee, 310 First St., S.W., Washington, D.C., 20003.
The Republican National Committee has an extensive publishing program to help Republican candidates plan campaigns. The list of publications is updated and revised from time to time, and they are available to Republican candidates upon request. Particularly useful materials include: How to Get Elected; Ways to Win; Campaign Research Manual; The Art of Winning Elections; Mission 70's Manual (basic political organization guides, by state); Campaign Manual for 1972. The Republican House and Senate Campaign Committees also supply publications and research services to Republican candidates. Their area publications are also helpful. For example, see Mission 70's, the Utah Voting District Manual. Another important publication is the Electronic Data Processing Manual. See as well their Women's activity manuals.

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An examination of the Blacks' past, present and future in American politics. Analysis of the political process in terms of ethnic minorities.

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Converse, Philip E. Information Flow and the Stability of Partisan Attitudes. In Angus Campbell, et. al. (eds.), Elections and the Political Order. Wiley. pp. 136-57.

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Classic and scholarly text on political parties in America.

Matthews, Donald R. and James W. Prothro. The Concept of Party Image and Its Importance for the Southern Electorate. In M. Kent Jennings and L. Harmon Zeigler (eds.), The Electoral Process. Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, 1966.
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FINANCING CAMPAIGNS

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Adamany, David. Financing: Politics, Recent Wisconsin Election. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1969.
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Alexander, Herbert E. Financing the 1960 Election. Princeton, N.J., Citizens' Research Foundation, 1962.
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Pamphlet on the problems of campaign fund-raising.

Citizens' Research Foundation (245 Nassau St., Princeton, New Jersey, 08540). This foundation is concerned solely with questions of political finance. All of its studies are available on request for 50¢ or $1. Studies that may be of interest to campaign planners are: Parties, Group Interests and Campaign Finance:- Michigan, 1956; Government Financing of Political Parties in Puerto Rico; Responsibility in Party Finance; Financing the State Senate Campaign:- Multnomah County, Oregon, 1964; Money as a Campaign Resource:- Tennessee Democratic Senatorial Primaries, 1948-64; Money and Politics in California:- Democratic Senatorial Primary 1964; Labor Money in Wisconsin Politics; Bipartisan Political Fund-Raising:- Two Experiments in 1964; The Politics of National Convention Finances and Arrangements; Republican Campaign Financing in Florida, 1963-67; Financing in Indiana, 1964; Financing Campaigns for Congress:- Contribution Patterns of National Level Party and Non-Party Committees, 1964.

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